

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

OF

B. R. TILLMAN,

GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

DELIVERED AT

COLUMBIA, S. C., DECEMBER 4, 1890.

COLUMBIA, S. C.

JAMES H. WOODROW, STATE PRINTER.

1890.

S. C. STATE LIBRARY

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

Gentlemen of the General Assembly: It is seldom in the history of politics that a man is so honored as I am. It is customary to perform the ceremony of inauguration in public, but only once before, that I am aware, has it been necessary in South Carolina to hold it in the open air in order to let the people see. To the large number of my fellow-citizens who have done me the honor to come as witnesses of this impressive ceremonial, I can only say, in simple words, I thank you. To the people I owe my election, after a most memorable canvass. To the people only I owe allegiance, and to the people I pledge loyal service. This is no mere holiday occasion. The citizens of this great commonwealth have, for the first time in its history, demanded and obtained for themselves the right to choose their Governor, and I, as the exponent and leader of the revolution which brought about the change, am here to take the solemn oath of office, and enter upon the discharge of its onerous duties. Before doing this, it is proper, and usage make its obligatory on me, to make known my views and opinions on the important questions agitating the public mind, and to show where and how reforms are needed and can be wrought.

With such an audience as this, sympathetic and enthusiastic, I might, if I were an orator, attempt to play upon your feelings, and win applause by flights of what some call eloquence; but which sensible people consider as "glittering generalities,"—the tinsel and brass buttons of a dress parade meaning nothing and worth nothing. The responsibilities of my position, the reliance of the people upon my leadership, the shortness of our Legislative session (one-fourth of which is already gone), alike demand the display of practical statesmanship and business methods. We are met to do the business of the people,—not to evolve beautiful theories, or discuss ideal government. We come as reformers, claiming that many things in the Government are wrong, and that there is room for retrenchment and reduction of taxes. Our task is to give the people better government, and more efficient government, as cheaply as is possible. We must, however, never lose sight of the fact that niggardliness is not always economy. The people will pay even more taxes than at present if they know those taxes are wisely expended, and for their benefit.

Before I proceed to discuss, in plain, straightforward fashion, the

legislation I shall ask you to consider, I desire to congratulate you upon the signal victory achieved by the people at the recent election. Democracy, the rule of the people, has won a victory unparalleled in its magnitude and importance, and those whose hearts were troubled as they watched the trend of national legislation in its unblushing usurpation of authority, its centralizing grasp upon the throats of the States, its abject surrender to the power of corporate money and class interests—all such must lift up joyful hearts of praise to the All-Ruler, and feel their faith in the stability of our republican institutions strengthened. In our own State, the triumph of Democracy and white supremacy over mongrelism and anarchy, of civilization over barbarism, has been most complete. And it is gratifying to note the fact, that this was attended by a political phenomenon which was a surprise to all of us. Our colored fellow citizens absolutely refused to be led to the polls by their bosses. The opportunity of having their votes freely cast and honestly counted, which has been claimed is denied the negroes, caused scarcely a ripple of excitement among them. They quietly pursued their avocations, and left the conduct of the election to the whites. Many who voted, cast their ballots for the regular Democratic ticket, and the consequence is, that to-day there is less race prejudice and race feeling between the white men and black men of South Carolina than has existed at any time since 1868.

The dismal experiment of universal negro suffrage, inspired by hate and a cowardly desire for revenge; the rotten government built upon it and propped with bayonets; the race antagonism which blazed up and is still alive; the robbery under the form of taxation; the riot and debauchery in our legislative halls and in our capital; the prostitution and impotence of our courts of justice while rape, arson, and murder stalked abroad in open daylight; the paralysis of trade; the stagnation of agriculture; the demoralization of society; the ignorance, the apathy, the despair which followed and brooded over the land—all these things have we endured and survived. Nearly a quarter of a century has passed since the two peoples who occupy our territory were taught to hate each other. The carpet-bag vampires and baser native traitors who brought it about and have kept it alive for their own sinister purposes are nearly all gone. There never was any just reason why the white men and black men of Carolina should not live together in peace and harmony. Our interests are the same, and our future, whether for weal or woe, cannot be divorced. The negro was a staunch friend and faithful servant during the war, when there was every opportunity to glut upon our wives and children any hatred or desire for revenge. He had none.

There is not a single instance on record of any disloyalty to his master's family during that trying and bloody period. The recollection of this fact should make us charitable towards him for the excesses to which he was excited by the opportunity, example, and instigation of his white leaders during the dark days I have just depicted. His conduct in the recent political campaign shows that he has begun to think for himself and realizes at last that his best friends and safest advisers are the white men who own the land and give him employment. When it is clearly shown that a majority of our colored voters are no longer imbued with the Republican idea, the vexed negro problem will be solved, and the nightmare of a return of negro domination will haunt us no more. Cannot I appeal to the magnanimity of the dominant race? Cannot I pledge in your behalf that we white men of South Carolina stand ready and willing to listen kindly to all reasonable complaints? to grant all just rights and safe privileges to these colored people? that they shall have equal protection under the law and a guarantee of fair treatment at our hands?

That the colored people have grievances, it is idle to deny. That the memory of the wrongs and insults heaped upon the whites by the blacks during their eight years' rule has provoked retaliation and often injustice, is true. It was natural and inevitable. But we owe it to ourselves as a Christian people; we owe it to the good name of our State which has been blackened thereby, and its prosperity retarded, that these things should be stopped. The whites have absolute control of the State Government, and we intend at any and all hazards to retain it. The intelligent exercise of the right of suffrage, at once the highest privilege and most sacred duty of the citizen, is as yet beyond the capacity of the vast majority of colored men. We deny, without regard to color, that "all men are created equal;" it is not true now and was not true when Jefferson wrote it, but we cannot deny, and it is our duty as the governing power in South Carolina to insure, to every individual, black and white, the "right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

With all the machinery of the law in our hands, with every department of the Government—Executive, Legislative, and Judicial—held by white men: with white juries, white Solicitors, white Sheriffs, it is simply infamous that resort should be had to lynch law, and that prisoners should be murdered because the people have grown weary of the law's delay and of its inefficient administration. Negroes have nearly always been the victims; and the confession is a blot on our civilization. Let us see to it that the finger of scorn no longer be pointed at our State because of this deplorable condition of affairs.

Let us hunt out the defects in our laws ; let us make plain and simple the rules of court which have outraged justice by granting continuances and new trials upon technicalities. Let us insist that only intelligent, sober, virtuous citizens sit on our juries. Let punishment for crime, by whomsoever committed, be prompt and sure, and with the removal of the cause the effect will disappear. And as a last desperate remedy, to be used only when others fail, grant the Executive the power of absolute removal of any Sheriff who fails to prevent any such act of violence in his County after the law has taken control of the prisoner.

I have thought it wise to speak in emphatic terms on this subject, because every Carolinian worthy the name must long to see the time when law shall reassert its sway, and when our people will not be divided into hostile political camps, and all classes and colors shall vie with each other in friendly rivalry to make the State prosperous and happy.

Having never aspired to or held any political office before, my place in South Carolina has simply been that of a voter and tax payer. Hence I am not as conversant with the details of the different departments of the State Government as I could wish. With such knowledge as I possess, I will now, as briefly as possible, direct your attention to such matters of public interest as seem of most importance.

The improvement of the free school system, and the wise adjustment of means to ends in the management of our institutions of higher education so as to obtain the best results, demand your best care and prompt action. The patriotism, intelligence, and virtue of the individual citizen is the foundation upon which rests free representative government. The education and proper training of the voters who must choose the public officers to carry on the State's affairs, is, therefore, a sacred duty which cannot be neglected without injury to the State and to society. No one will dispute this. But, how much is South Carolina doing in this behalf?

Is our present system a good one? Are we doing all we can to train our youth and fit them for the duties of life? I answer unhesitatingly: No! In our towns and villages, by reason of supplementary taxes and voluntary contributions, the schools are fairly good. Among the farmers in the country, the good school is the exception, while inferior schools, which run three or four months, are the rule. There is just enough effort by the State to paralyze private schools, and there is absolute retrogression in education with corresponding increase of illiteracy. We spend in round numbers for free common schools per annum about five hundred thousand dollars, and for

higher education about one hundred thousand. This is fifty-two cents per capita of population, and allows less than two dollars to each child of school age. It must not be forgotten that the whites pay nearly all of this, except what is obtained from the poll tax. Without giving reasons, which will readily occur to every thinking mind, I suggest the following scheme to improve the free school system as a basis of permanent and lasting schools: The respective Counties should be divided by a reliable surveyor into school districts as nearly square as their contour and the larger streams and swamps will permit. These should be of an area not greater than thirty-six, nor less than sixteen, square miles, in proportion as population is dense, and with one white and one colored school in each, all the public school funds should be concentrated to run these alone. The trustees should be elected by the residents of said districts, only free holders being eligible to that office. The poll tax should be three dollars, instead of one dollar, as now, and this will require a Constitutional amendment. Empower the trustees to erect suitable buildings as near the centre of districts as practicable, with money borrowed for that purpose, and set apart for each year so much of the school fund as may be necessary to liquidate the debt in ten years, principal and interest. Then allow the voters of each district to levy at their option, and without further legislative action, a supplementary tax for its sole use and benefit up to five mills, if they so desire, with the privilege to each tax payer of designating the school to which this additional tax shall be applied. Finally let the State arrange, alone, if need be, but in company with other Southern States, if possible, to have suitable school books compiled or published on royalty, or bought at wholesale, as may be cheapest, and furnish the same to scholars at cost, allowing no others to be used in public schools. The school book trust robs our people of an enormous amount of money every year. It is possible to buy an edition of the Waverly Novels, twenty volumes, for one dollar, while a Child's Primer costs twenty-five cents, and all other books in proportion. Then we find in our school histories Confederate soldiers designated as "rebels," and Southern statesmen called traitors. The State alone can remedy these evils, and the State should do it. It need not cost anything except to enact the law and put its execution in competent and loyal hands. And in regard to the proposed changes in the management of our free schools, there is a popular demand that the State shall do more—make the system effective, or do nothing, and abolish the two mill tax, leaving education altogether to the people themselves.

The condition of our higher institutions of learning is equally unsatisfactory and the State has been making some costly experiments.

For five years there has been active and persistent agitation on the subject of what the State can afford to do in this line and what is best for it to do. One side contended for literary and scientific training and the university system, which necessarily costs the student more, and the State more per student educated. The other demanded cheap, practical education, in which the application of knowledge and science to the business of bread winning and the up-building of our agriculture and the mechanic arts should be the main objects. Both sides were right from their standpoints, but no agreement or compromise has been possible heretofore. The State has lost three valuable years, has wasted some eighty or ninety thousand dollars, and now the whole system must be overhauled and re-adjusted in accordance with the will of the people as shown at the recent election. Let us now exert our energies in trying to start right at last, and endeavor to harmonize conflicting interests and opinions. The people have decided that there is no use for a grand University at Columbia, but they are equally determined that the South Carolina College as a school of liberal education in the classics, in the theoretical sciences, and in literature, "shall be liberally supported."

After consultation with the President and some of the Professors and Trustees, I recommend that the University system be abolished, the Experiment Farm at Columbia sold and the proceeds covered into the treasury, the mechanical department with all its belongings transferred to Clemson College, and that a complete reorganization be ordered. A "liberal" appropriation and one which will suffice to give the institution stability and character ought to be made. Thirty thousand dollars for all purposes and tuition fees can be profitably used, in my opinion, and I hope it will receive that amount by perpetual annual grant so as to remove the College altogether from political influences and antagonisms.

The work on Clemson College, as you have been informed by the report of the Board of Trustees, of whom I am one, has been delayed by the failure until recently to make suitable brick on the ground. The founding of a grand agricultural and mechanical industrial school with all that goes to make up a suitable plant, is a costly job at any time or place. When it is remembered that the trustees had to go in the woods and must build everything from the ground—College, Mechanical Department, Laboratory, Mess Hall, Dormitories, Professors' houses, etc., etc.,—it can be readily seen that a large amount of money will be needed. After close calculation, based upon our experience thus far, we find it will require not less than one hundred and fifty thousand dollars to complete and equip all the necessary buildings in a plain, substantial manner. The last Legislature

appropriated forty-three thousand dollars for this purpose, and it will require at least one hundred thousand dollars more to complete all the Departments and start the College. We can build the school without any additional appropriation, but it will be two years before it can be started, and I will show how this can be done.

The Experimental Station is in receipt of fifteen thousand dollars per year from the United States Government. A part of the legitimate work of the Station will be the analytical work for the State—fertilizers, waters, ores, etc. The thorough inspection and control of the sale of fertilizers, and the other necessary duties of the Department of Agriculture, which the people have decreed should be abolished, need not cost more than ten thousand dollars, if that much. The transfer of the Agricultural Bureau's work to Clemson College would naturally carry with it the fertilizer fees, amounting this year to \$42,569. After deducting the \$10,000 as above, there will be left for use next year an estimated amount equal to \$32,500 from this source. The Department building at Columbia should be sold, and the proceeds can be applied to building purposes. This building has cost upwards of \$25,000, and should be worth at least \$20,000. If more, so much the better. The Experimental Farm at Columbia, I am told, is worth probably \$5,000. So, to tabulate, we find:

From privilege tax.....	\$32,500
Department building.....	20,000
Farm at Columbia.....	5,000
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Available for building purposes.....	\$57,500

There is, beside, an annual income from the Land Scrip Fund of \$5,750 and about \$4,000 from the Clemson bequest.

As soon as the General Assembly shall take proper action there will be \$15,000 more, under a recent Act of Congress, which is to be divided between Clemson and Claflin on an annual appropriation which increases by \$1,000 per annum till it reaches \$25,000. But this money must be used exclusively for teaching. With this last appropriation from the national Government, half of which must go to Claflin, there will be no need of the whole of the permanent appropriation of \$5,000 from the State Treasury for that school. But the State must appropriate something from the Treasury to Claflin in order to get this last fund.

On the basis of these recommendations and the income from the Clemson bequest we can see \$65,000 at least in sight as a building fund for next year and \$45,000 in 1892, enough to complete the Clemson College in two years, and it is for you to decide whether you will

put off opening the College till October, 1892, or give money out of the treasury to enable it to be completed and put in full operation next October.

There is another way by which the necessary funds can be raised without appropriation. I have consulted the Attorney General in regard to the will of Mr. Clemson, and he is of opinion that none of the principal of the Clemson bequest can be used, only the interest being available. But, by Act of the Legislature, it might be borrowed or used as collateral, and there is enough money in sight to run the college after it is completed without calling on the State for a dollar.

The annual income of the Institution will be as follows:

Hatch fund, U. S.....	\$15,000
Land scrip fund, U. S.....	5,750
One-half Morrill, 1890, fund, U. S.....	7,500
Privilege tax, say.....	40,000
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A total of	\$68,250

Some of this can only be used for teaching, and reverts to the U. S. Government if not so employed, and \$25,000 will go to the Experiment Station and the work of the Agricultural Department. If the Clemson bequest is borrowed, provision should be made for its restoration in ten annual instalments. And this is the course I advise. The people are very impatient for the Clemson College to open, and I hope you will see your way clear to following one or the other of these plans, so as to enable the Trustees to complete the buildings and start the College next October.

Of the Citadel Academy, I shall have little to say. It is unfortunate, in my opinion, that it was ever re-opened as a beneficiary military school. The money, \$60,000, which has been recently spent in rebuilding the burned wing, and in repairing and equipping the whole building, could, in my judgment, have been far more profitably used in erecting an Industrial and Normal School for girls, and the \$20,000 annual appropriation which it takes to run the Citadel, would have gone far towards supporting such a valuable and necessary addition to our educational system.

But the money has been spent. The buildings are in splendid order, the school is in a flourishing condition, and it holds a warm place in the hearts of many of our people as a landmark of the old regime. A conservative regard for the rights and wishes of even a small minority ought to have weight with those who have themselves so long been denied what they wish. There are too few lights in South Carolina for us to wantonly put out any of them, and for the

present I recommend that the usual appropriation be granted. Under the terms of the Land Grant Act, military science and tactics must be taught at the Clemson College. At that college a boy can learn everything now imparted at the Military Academy, and much besides. Its industrial feature will help poor boys to educate themselves, without discrimination, while the Citadel furnishes free education, board, clothing, etc., to a limited number, under conditions which savor often of favoritism. Whether, after the Clemson College is started and there will be duplication of teaching force and identity of curriculum with the Citadel, the State can afford to maintain three schools for her sons, and not one for her daughters, will be for the people to decide. At present the Citadel is doing better work in proportion to cost than the University. When, however, the latter shall be reorganized as proposed, and when the Clemson College shall furnish the military training and practical scientific education which can now be obtained only at the Military Academy, that school will have to show cause for its existence as a charity school for military training.

But, whatever is done in that regard, there is imperative need for an industrial school for girls in the State. Our system of education for women looks to training their minds and giving them accomplishments for the adornment of society. But reverses of fortune or death often bring the necessity of bread winning, and the tender mother left a widow, or daughter left an orphan, finds how little worth in dollars and cents is the music, drawing, and painting, etc., upon which money and time had been lavished in her so-called education. The State has never done anything for its women except appropriating a small amount to the Winthrop Training School for Teachers. It would be wrong to enter in competition with our private female colleges by establishing an ordinary school, but one in which the industrial arts and sciences, telegraphy, designing, stenography, bookkeeping, the chemistry and practice of cookery, house-keeping, etc., are taught, will, I am sure, supply a long-felt and pressing want. The State may not be prepared to undertake this work right at this time, but justice and enlightened statesmanship will not allow it to be long delayed. As a step in this direction I recommend that the Governor be authorized to appoint three Commissioners to ascertain and report on—

First—What are the proper requirements for such an institution and what will be the probable annual cost of its maintenance.

Second—What inducement in the way of grounds, buildings, moneys, or other securities may be offered by persons or towns in the

State to secure its location, and to make recommendations thereon after visiting the same, if necessary.

The expense incurred in getting this information should not exceed \$300, to be paid out of the Governor's contingent fund.

After a thorough examination of the methods and work of the Winthrop Training School, I am positive in saying no money spent by the State for education promises a richer return than that given this institution. The cry comes from all over the State for better teachers and trained teachers. There are in our white public schools 1,102 male and 1,586 female teachers, showing that women are most in demand. What effort is made to supply it? The State gives \$150 per annum to one woman beneficiary from each County who attends the Winthrop School, and none are admitted except those who are avowedly preparing themselves as teachers. The course is one year. Now mark the contrast. Three hundred dollars are spent annually on each beneficiary at the Citadel; two are allowed from each County; the course is four years, and the graduates are virtually released from the obligation to teach in the public schools, while many of them have left the State as soon as they graduated. Truly, it would appear that

"Man to man so oft unjust,
Is always so to woman;"

And here we have not only injustice, but a woful lack of common sense and no regard for that adjustment of means to ends which alone can justify taxation for education. I will close these extended remarks on education by repeating the words of a deep thinker: "If we educate our men, their children MAY be educated; but when we educate our women, we know their children WILL be educated." Carolina's daughters are her brightest jewels. Love, patriotism, justice, all demand that they be no longer neglected, or treated like poor relations.

I have made one brief visit to the Lunatic Asylum, and have made such inquiry and investigation as I could in regard to its system of management. The institution is very full; and the appropriation for this year has been \$110,000, with an income in addition of about \$10,000 from pay patients. The outlay on this charity, after deducting the interest on the State debt, is about one-fifth of our entire State expenditure. The Report of the Superintendent shows 445 white and 333 colored patients in the institution and a per capita expenditure of 37 cents a day. But the comparison with institutions whose patients are all white is unfair and misleading. A glance at the accommodation, clothing, etc., of the colored patients shows that they do not cost anything like this amount; and, therefore, the white patients are cost-

ing much more per capita than is shown in the report. I am not prepared to say whether there is room for retrenchment or not in the management; but I am very positive on two points:

(1) There are people in the Asylum who ought not to be there because they can be more economically supported elsewhere; and

(2) A change should be made in the law so as to require each County to support its own insane.

There are many reasons for this change which I will enumerate. The Asylum has three classes of patients:

(1) Those who are supported by the State.

(2) Those who are partly supported by the State.

(3) Those who pay for their own support.

Again, its patients are divided into:

(1) Patients who are insane, but curable.

(2) Patients who are insane, and incurable.

(3) Patients who are idiots.

(4) Patients who are epileptics.

(5) Patients who are imbeciles.

Lastly into two general classes: Patients who are dangerous, and patients who are harmless.

Society, for its own protection and for the sake of humanity, must provide for its unfortunates. There can be no dispute about this. Pay patients, whose friends can watch after their welfare and provide for it, can be left out of the account. Pauper patients should, under restraint when needed, receive kind treatment, plain substantial food, skilled medical attendance, and comfortable clothing. Every taxpayer wants this much done. But poor taxpayers, of whom we have plenty, ought not to be expected to support pauper lunatics in better style than they themselves are able to afford.

Under the law as it now is, the power of committing patients to the Asylum rests with the County Commissioners, who have large latitude in some things, and are under strict regulations in others. The law is to blame for some of the extravagances and abuses which are apparent. Probable neglect of duty or connivance on the part of these officers must explain the others. Out of the 445 white lunatics in the Asylum, thirty-one are pay patients and twenty-three pay in part. The percentage of paupers in this institution is so large that we are forced to ask whether only the poor people go crazy? The law provides that the lunatics who have property shall be supported out of the income therefrom. I have known of instances in which this has been disregarded, and not only the income but the estate itself has been used by relatives, while the State was called on to support the lunatics. It is probable that many of the patients in the

Asylum belong to this category, and the County Commissioners whose duty it is to prevent it, have either been imposed upon or have winked at the wrong to please some friend, and curry favor with an influential voter. The law provides for punishment, it is true, but what is everybody's business is nobody's business. Few people know anything about such a law. The Asylum is at a distance, the patient enters it and is soon forgotten. The neighbors talk awhile, and there's an end.

Again, when time and treatment have shown that a pauper lunatic is incurable, but harmless, needing nothing but a little food and clothing, why should the institution be crowded to its present overflowing condition with such a class of patients when they can be as safely and more cheaply cared for in the County Poor House? Many of the inmates of the Asylum are of this class, and in consequence all of the negro men are in the cheap, temporary, wooden building, which cannot be well heated in very cold weather, when there must necessarily be suffering among them. Now, if each County was required to support the patients it sends to the Asylum, and the bill of costs submitted to public inspection through the County press, and the whole matter of commitment, support, etc., came under the eyes of the grand jury, I feel sure immediate relief for the existing plethora would follow, and the cost to the people be greatly lessened. All who ought to pay, would be made to pay, and instead of bundling off every idiot and harmless imbecile to Columbia, there would be careful calculation as to whether they should not go to the County Poor House. The whole matter of cost would resolve itself into the question, which is cheapest and best: to send them to the one place or to the other? for it should be left optional, and when the matter is brought squarely home to each community, the enlightened self-interest of its citizens will solve it to its own satisfaction, and each will pay for what it gets.

Another thing: many of the inmates of the Asylum who are harmless are placed there by their unnatural relatives to get rid of the burden of their care and support, and these having no property in their own name are classed as paupers. Were each County made to support its own lunatics, the authorities would refuse to send such to the Asylum. Pride would prevent them from being sent to the poor house, and society would be relieved of a burden which it ought not to bear, and these unfortunates be supported and cared for at home as they should be.

To relieve the existing pressure and to restore the institution to its proper uses as a hospital for dangerous and incurable lunatics, I advise that a commission of three physicians and two citizens, to be appointed by the Executive and paid out of his contingent fund, shall

make a thorough examination of the inmates confined there and return to the Counties from which they came all persons who can be safely sent away. Time for the necessary preparation on the part of County authorities to care for them should be given, but the Asylum should be purged as soon as possible. Another point in connection with the Asylum is that under existing law the Governor has no connection with the Asylum except to appoint Regents and the other officials and employees, and after that is done, any interference on his part in its management can be considered intermeddling. As a matter of sound public policy, the Executive ought to be *ex officio* a member of every Board in the State having the expenditure of public money, and should have personal supervision of its work.

In connection with this matter of Boards I find that all the Regents of the Asylum hold office for six years, and that their terms all begin the same year; that the six State Trustees of Clemson College all have the same tenure and go out together, while the Board of Commissioners of the Deaf, Dumb and Blind Asylum and the Board of Visitors of the Citadel have a life tenure. This appears to me to be all wrong. There is no chance of injecting new blood into these important administrative positions if such is needed, and then there is always the danger of an abrupt change in the management of these important institutions which a change of all old men for new might bring about. They should be continuing bodies with new men when needed coming in, but preserving these institutions from harm by retaining a part of the old appointees. Long tenure of office has invariably produced carelessness and the growth of abuses, and new brooms sometimes sweep too clean. I advise that the General Assembly take steps to remedy these defects in existing laws.

Next in magnitude and importance to the Asylum of our public institutions is the Penitentiary. The number of convicts in the latter is nearly the same as the patients in the former, and I am of opinion that the Penitentiary ought at least to support the Asylum. The results obtained at the institution have not been satisfactory to the people, and the bane of its management is *politics*. The General Assembly, when called on to fill positions of honor or profit, finds itself besieged by a class of men who are hunting a "soft place" and who have or make claims on individual members for votes as a reward for political support in the past, or promise of such support in the future. Offices requiring high order of business talent are given to men who can speak well or who have rendered political services, while they are wholly lacking in administrative ability. This being the case, it is small wonder that we so often find mismanagement in government business and incompetent men in high offices. This is a

vice that is inherent in republican government, and in proportion as its influence is great or small in legislative bodies, is that government good or bad. The antidote is an opposition party to watch those in office and show to the people any shortcomings. We have been denied this blessing in South Carolina by reason of the necessity of the whites remaining united. But the present Administration and the present General Assembly will be watched by the people as no other in our history has been watched, and we must bear always in mind that reform cannot come from any such line of action. Having given this caution, I will rely upon your sense of duty to vote intelligently and for the best interest of the State in filling all offices in your gift. In making these observations I in no wise mean to cast any reflections upon the gentlemen in charge of the Penitentiary.

I have only a few observations to make in reference to the management of the institution. Its failure to yield anything like an adequate income from so much labor is attributed to the losses by freshets in the river. Year after year in spite of these losses the attempt to farm has been persisted in, and I see the Board has presumed to make contracts on these same places for next year, thus tying the hands of the next administration. If the State is going to farm, it ought to work its own land, so as to derive the benefit of all improvements. It ought to farm or it ought not, and in my judgment, the best results to make the institution yield an income commensurate with its worth, can be secured by removing all restrictions on leasing or hiring the convicts, and allowing them to be employed in any work, public or private, that pays best. Agricultural labor is, and always has been, the least remunerative of any in the world, and I think the best results will follow when the Directors of the Penitentiary are allowed to contract for labor at so much for so many days' labor of ten hours, the contractor having nothing to do with finding, clothing, or guarding the convicts. The State should retain control of the convicts to prevent abuse.

The recent purchase of a farm which is subject to overflow in contrary to law, and therefore to be condemned; but I think the law which forbade it was unwise; because, when the State shall, by levees, keep out the water, the object lesson may induce capitalists to invest in these swamp lands and reclaim them. With the large amount of labor at command, it is certainly cheaper to keep out water than to buy up lands as rich. One such farm the State ought to have, both to show the value of these lands and to employ its surplus labor at certain times. But, leasing the convicts on the plan I propose, will, I am sure, yield better results.

But I must hurry on, for there are so many important questions with which we have to deal, that I shall tire your patience, and still leave much unsaid.

It is twenty-two years since the Constitution under which we live was forced upon an unwilling people by aliens. While many of its provisions are wise and cannot be improved, there is much in it unsuited to our condition and wants. All attempts to remedy its most glaring defects have failed. Some provisions in it cannot be obeyed, others we have never tried to obey, while others still have been trampled under foot, to the great injury of certain Counties and sections. I cannot consume time in pointing out all these things, but I am unalterably fixed in the belief that a convention of the people should be called to make the change if needed, and incorporate such additional features as will adapt it to our people and their surroundings. The cost of such a convention should not weigh in the least against such action, for the benefits to be expected will so far exceed the cost that money cannot enter as a factor. The people, I am sure, want a new organic law, and are willing to pay for it. If they do not, they can say so by their votes, and the servants of the people should not refuse to allow them the opportunity. But, while demanding a new Constitution, recent events have shown in no uncertain way that our people are equally determined to allow no wanton or impudent disregard by the General Assembly of the present instrument. The wrong perpetrated by the failure to reapportion representation will be righted, beyond doubt, by this Legislature. But I feel in duty bound to call your attention to another most outrageous and uncalled-for infringement of its clear and unmistakable behests, which has gone unchallenged for ten years. I allude to the division of Charleston County. There is no doubt in the world that Charleston County, as it is at present, is unconstitutional. It lacks the required area, and therefore the Act creating Berkeley County is not law. It can only remain of force by failure on your part to discharge your duty as required by your oaths of office. Without pretending to advise what shall be done, I point out the defects and leave to you the remedy. There is one aspect of the case to which I direct your attention. The Constitution of 1868 gives Charleston County two Senators, and it was clearly by reason of its large area and population. Now, if that County is divided and a new County created, the question arises, Shall the same area and population have three Senators by reason of such division; and if so, what part of the County shall retain the name of Charleston, and thus hold its two Senators? It is just as easy, just as lawful, and just as right for that part not containing the city to claim and be given the name, as the other; and I am there-

fore clearly of opinion that the division of that County carries with it the loss of a Senator to that part which retains the name, else injustice is done to the rest of the State. Here is most pressing reason for a constitutional convention, for I do not see how else the muddle is to be settled without ordering a new election in that County.

Thus far, matters which require outlay and increased expenditure, or from which no income is derived, have been discussed. I will next touch on the means of saving the people money, reducing and equalizing taxes, and increasing the State's income from the phosphate royalty. There is nothing which will save the people more money than a good railroad law, administered by an honest, impartial, fearless Commission. The people have demanded relief from the imposition and injustice of these powerful corporations. Hitherto all efforts to legislate in their behalf have failed because the railroads have wielded an undue influence with our General Assembly. With the present body I am sure the only question is as to what is best to be done, and, after such investigation as I have been able to give the subject, I unhesitatingly advise that a law similar to that of Georgia be enacted. The people of that State are perfectly satisfied with it and the railroads must be, because our sister State leads in the miles of new road constructed. Whether the choice of Commissioners shall devolve upon the people, the General Assembly, or the Executive, is for you to determine. Our platform demands that it be given to the people, but an immediate reorganization of the Commission is desirable, while our next election is two years off, and, if proper men are selected, I am sure that the State will receive instant and great benefit. Of one thing I am certain, the division of the State into sections from which the Commissioners must be drawn is wrong in principle and in policy. We need the best men for the place, let them come from where they may, and let us hope that as there was absolute obliteration of the lines between "low country and up-country" in the last political campaign and the reform wave swept from the mountains to the sea, so may the Democrats who won, and those who lost, bear and forbear with each other, and, locking shields again, as becomes brethren and Carolinians, forget and forgive the bitterness which has been engendered. Let us in future know no sectional line in the State, and, in selecting men for positions of honor or trust, ask not whether a candidate is a "Reformer" or not, but whether he is the best man for the place. Democracy and fitness alone should determine the matter. A law may be ever so good and wise, but, if it is not properly administered, it will fail to give satisfaction. The General Assembly may enact the Georgia law, but if it fails to obtain the right men, there will be no relief to the

people. We must get men like the Georgia Commissioners, able, honest, and fearless, or we had better abolish the Commission and make no attempts at controlling the railroads at all. In this connection it may be well to say that in seeking to control railroads and other corporations strict regard should be had for their rights and interests. Corporations are not public enemies, although they are, if unbridled, apt to be oppressive. Much of the material development and progress of the age is the fruit of corporate efforts, and many men acting under one head and guided by one will have done for our country what no individual could have possibly accomplished. Therefore we should carefully watch to see that nothing is done to injure our railroad or manufacturing companies. Let us protect the people against their greed, but let us be just and fair in our dealings with them.

The question of equalizing taxes is one of the most important and perplexing with which we have to deal, and, while the laws are defective, their administration is equally at fault.

I will touch on the latter trouble first.

Under the law, Auditors and Treasurers are appointed by the Governor, and their work is supervised by the Comptroller General. In addition, we have County and State Boards of Equalization, by whom the work is revised. The Auditors appoint the members of the County Board, and the Chairmen of the respective County Boards constitute the State Board. Assessments are made, "under oath," of property at its "real market value." This is the system, and how has it worked? It is an absolute and pitiable failure, and both the law and the people are to blame. And as the Executive is the fountain head, I propose to analyze it and point out some grave defects, so that I may escape blame if nothing is done by the General Assembly. While the offices of Treasurer and Auditor are appointive, and are properly so, with our system of County governments, the people in most of the Counties have, of their own accord by primary election, selected men to be recommended for these positions, and the Governor, as a matter of course, is glad to be relieved of the responsibility. I believe in self-government, and in the people selecting their own officers, but self-government by Counties is, and has always been, a failure, and especially so in large Counties.

The same argument which has been used against the present management of the Asylum applies to the assessment of property by a County official, and especially one elected by the people. The result in both cases is carelessness, neglect of duty, and often collusion, as I have shown of the Asylum, and as I will now show of assessments. The duty of a zealous assessor is that of a spy—on the lookout for property which seeks to evade taxation altogether, or is being

returned below its "marketable value." When, therefore, an Auditor is assessing property, and the taxpayer is a voter to pass upon his claim for re-election, it is asking too much of poor humanity to expect him to offend his friends and constituents by prying into their affairs too closely. Hence, we find that taxpayers by the thousand not only fail to return all their property as the law requires, but they sign the oath that they have returned all their property at its true value, when they know, and the Auditor knows, the returns are absolutely false. The Auditor does not care, because he gets a salary, and he does not like to offend a man who has a vote, while the Governor doesn't care because he appointed the choice of the people. The local Equalization Board, appointed by the Auditor for political effect, and getting no pay, goes through these returns hurriedly and makes some slight changes, and the County Board does likewise, and nobody except the tax dodger is satisfied. I know land in Edgefield which sells readily for \$25 to \$40 per acre, and it is assessed at an average of \$8, or less. I know other land, and it is very plentiful, that sells at \$6 and \$8 per acre, and is assessed at an average of \$4. And I know other land that is assessed for more than it will bring in the market.

The phosphate miners, protected by the Constitution, return land bought at enormous prices at the price of agricultural land, and either put down no output or return it at about one-fifth of its selling price. The sworn returns of such land mines as I have been able to get show that while the gross output of land rock in this State is about \$2,000,000, less than \$400,000 is returned for taxes.

The Haile Gold Mining Company of Lancaster, whose output, as I am reliably informed, is at least \$75,000 per annum, returns nothing but machinery, etc., and land.

Here is the exhibit of the Charleston banks as given me by the Auditor of that County:

Bank.	Assessments.	Tax.	Capital and Undivided Profits.	Deposits.
American Savings.....	\$ 15,000	\$ 142 50	\$ 24,000	\$ 100,000
The Bank of Charleston N. B. A	200,000	1,900 00	377,000	816,000
Carolina Savings.....	200,000	1,900 00	448,000	1,486,000
Charleston Savings.....	30,000	285 00	99,000	491,000
First National.....	200,000	1,900 00	572,865
Germania Savings.....	40,000	380 00	181,000	1,813,000
Hibernia Savings	30,000	285 00	48,000	206,000
Miners' and Merchants'	100,000	950 00	105,000	108,000
People's National.....	250,000	2,375 00	606,000	617,000
Security Savings.....	50,000	475 00	50,000	248,000
S. C. Loan and Trust.....	125,000	1,187 50	266,745	542,000
Palmetto Dime	25,000	237 50	29,000	11,000
12 Banks.....	\$1,265,000	12,017 00	2,806,610	6,538,000

These are figures taken from statements furnished by cashiers of the different institutions, and they speak for themselves.

Then we know farmers return mules that cost \$150 at \$50 and \$75, so the disease is universal, and now what is the remedy? The best and only effectual way of securing comparative equality in assessments, as it is the only way of securing economy and efficiency in County affairs, is township government, such as exists all over the Northern States, and such as existed here before the war in our local boards of Road Commissioners, etc.

As the adoption of the Constitution amendment abolishing the office of County Commissioner will require or allow a new system of County government, and these County governments are in a measure the cause of our heavy taxes, I will suggest for your consideration a scheme of local government which will give us efficiency and economy in County affairs and as true and honest an assessment of property as is possible.

Let the voters of each township elect from its freeholders a board of three Supervisors who shall have charge of roads, bridges, and the assessment of property in their respective townships. Let the pay of these supervisors, if any, be just what the people of that township are willing to pay out of their own pockets as voted in township meeting, and if public spirit does not make men do the work for nothing, the people will pay what is necessary to have it done, and well done, and no more. When the Auditor comes around to assess property, let these Supervisors be present and put prices on land, stock, &c., &c., under oath, and should any taxpayer neglect to make return, let the Supervisors find out and assess his property, receiving therefor \$1 from each taxpayer who neglects to meet the Auditor.

Let the Chairmen of these township Boards of Supervisors constitute a County Board of Finance to audit accounts, order expenditures, and do all the duties now performed so unsatisfactorily by the County Commissioners. When our County governments are controlled by men who are successful business men, who are the best of their class, and the money in the office become secondary to the honor and the public welfare, we shall see the extravagance and waste, the speculation and speculation now going on in many Counties brought to an end, and taxes reduced, while the affairs of the County will be conducted in a far more satisfactory way.

In the matter of assessments and equalizing taxes, this County Board of Finance could act as an equalizing board, to whom the Auditor should report anything he may discover wrong on the part of Township Boards or individuals. The Auditor should be alto-

gether free from political influences and be appointed as now on the recommendation of the County Board of Finance rather than by the primary system. For, as long as he is hunting votes, he cannot and will not discharge his duty fearlessly. If the law is strengthened by making it a crime punishable with fine and imprisonment to fail to return all property liable to taxation, everything will be done that is possible to make all property bear its just share of the burdens of government.

The best of laws are of no avail unless they are properly administered, and while it is not claimed that this system is perfect, it is submitted to you as embodying the essence of self-government, and experience has demonstrated that just in proportion as the government is conducted on the same principle that our private affairs are conducted, is it economical and efficient.

The people will not waste their own substance or permit neglect of their local affairs if allowed to control them.

The next subject to which I beg to call your attention is the management of the State's phosphate beds. Nothing with which this Legislature has to deal can equal this in importance and value to the taxpayer. I am only sorry that I know so little about it. For five years much of my time has been directed to a study of this question, and no opportunity for acquiring correct information has been neglected. But the octopus which seized on the industry twenty-one years ago has kept the water turbid with its inky fluid; and while those on the inside have many of them grown rich, the taxpayers and their representatives know very little about it and every effort has been made to keep the facts from the public.

It would consume too much time to go into the matter exhaustively, and I will confine myself to a brief statement of facts, merely asking those who want to study the question thoroughly, to read Attorney General Conner's report to the General Assembly in 1877, and the reports of the Commissioner of Agriculture, together with the testimony taken by the Phosphate Commission in 1887.

In 1870 the Radical Legislature granted privileges to a corporation known as the River and Marine Company, to mine rock in the navigable waters of the State for twenty-one years. The State received nothing for this valuable franchise, but it is believed that it was secured by bribery, and this belief is strengthened by the fact that it was passed over the veto of Governor Scott. The Coosaw Mining Company obtained from the original grantors exclusive right to mine in Coosaw River, and with a paid up capital of \$275,000 commenced operations. In 1876 the General Assembly passed an Act confirming the exclusive right of the Coosaw Company to mine that river for the

term of twenty-one years at a fixed royalty of \$1 per ton, and this lease will expire on the 1st of March, 1891. The Act of 1876, as I have been informed, was drawn by the attorney of the Coosaw Company, and so adroitly worded as to give color to the claim that the grant to that river was perpetual, "so long as that company shall make true returns," &c., and under this the company, as I was informed by a large stockholder, claims that its tenure is not a lease expiring in 1891, but a contract running for all time. This claim is preposterous in my judgment, and I base my opinion on that admirable report of General James Conner, which has been already mentioned. I state further that this opinion is held by the retiring Attorney General, Joseph H. Earle, and his successor, General Y. J. Pope. So while we may expect the Coosaw Company to appeal to the courts to sustain their claim, we have the opinion of three distinguished lawyers as against its validity, and this General Assembly must not hesitate to move forward and act as promptly and decisively as though no such litigation was threatened.

The Coosaw River, to which this company lays claim, is, perhaps, the best phosphate field in the world. The lease, under which it has been mined for twenty-one years, has made every stockholder wealthy, and they gave the State nothing for this valuable franchise. Their plant, which has been obtained from the surplus profits, is valued at \$750,000 or over, and in the meantime, by fabulous dividends, the original capital of \$275,000 has been returned to the stockholders, as I have heard, over and over again.

When you are told that the output of this company this year has been 107,000 tons, worth \$7 per ton F. O. B., and that the cost of mining this rock, including royalty, cannot exceed \$4.25 per ton, and is believed by many to be much less, the margin of profit exceeds 100 per cent. on the original investment. The total royalty secured by the State from its phosphate beds has been \$2,000,000, and of this amount over half has been paid by the Coosaw Company. These facts are mentioned, as they will be the basis of the recommendations I am going to make as to the management of the State's phosphate territory. The expiration of the Coosaw lease in March next makes it possible, in my judgment, to double the income of the State from the phosphate royalty without injuring the industry or interfering unduly with any vested right. We come into office upon a platform demanding a survey of the phosphate territory and its lease at auction to the highest bidder, after a minimum royalty has been fixed by the board of control upon each district surveyed. So the people have, in a manner, taken the question from the domain of debate, and we must determine what shall be the scope and extent of

such a work. Anything less than a thorough and reliable survey would be a waste of time and money, and this will take a good deal of both. But, cost what it may, it will well repay its cost, and until we have the data which can alone be thus obtained, we cannot legislate intelligently or derive the benefit from this valuable property that we ought. This year the royalty has been \$237,000, and all of it except about \$3,000 was paid by six large mining companies, whose field of operation is confined to a territory within twenty miles of Beaufort. You will be told by some that this indicates the exhaustion of the deposits; but I am sure that it only means that good rock is more plentiful or more cheaply mined there than elsewhere. A survey alone can demonstrate the truth or falsity of this belief, which is based upon the assurances of experts, who themselves have mined in other waters of the State. As the reliance of capitalists upon an estimate of the value of any given deposit of phosphates will depend largely upon the character of the man making the survey, I have thought it best to obtain the help of the United States government, if possible, and ask the detail of an officer of the Navy or Coast Survey to do the work. I think, upon inquiry, an appropriation of \$10,000 will be sufficient to start with, and by the time the General Assembly meets a year hence, it will have something definite to go upon, and can continue the work or not as it may deem best. In the meantime, by means of this survey and the opportunity for further investigation, to which all my spare time shall be devoted, a clearer understanding as to the best system of management of this important industry can be obtained, and the General Assembly can then act intelligently. We do not want to "kill the goose that lays these golden eggs;" we only want the State to get her just share of them. In the meantime, as soon as the Coosaw lease expires, 1st March next, let us open that river to all miners who choose to enter it, allow the Board of Control to parcel out the territory among them so as to prevent conflict, raise the royalty to \$2 per ton, and place one or more inspectors on the ground to supervise the work and weigh the rock when shipped. Give enlarged powers to the Executive and his compeers on the Board as to requiring a minimum amount of rock to be mined, and leave it to their discretion after examination to raise the royalty outside of Coosaw River to such miners as do not choose to relinquish their present ground. If the Coosaw Company goes to law, give the power to shut down their works, and thus force this giant monopoly to relinquish its hold on a property whose value is unknown, but which is estimated by experts as worth millions. Any half-way measures will not do, and this cuttle-fish must be grasped

with a mailed hand. The State owes the company nothing, and it will fight much longer and harder if it is met timidly.

All the river rock mined in South Carolina is exported to Europe, and last year the demand was so great as to necessitate the exportation of 40,000 tons of land rock, while the price has steadily increased since 1887. Suppose the doubling of the royalty should lessen the output of river rock one-half, the price would go still upward, and the State have the same income as now, with 118,000 tons more rock on hand in her rivers for future use. Then if the litigation forced the cessation of work by Coosaw Company, and the State should hesitate to open Coosaw River to other miners, without the increase of royalty, the income of the State will be only half of what it has been this year. The Coosaw Company, when confronted with the alternative of going to law to retain its imaginary rights and having its works closed, or of acknowledging that its lease has expired, and asking for generous treatment, which its large investments would warrant its receiving, will doubtless choose the latter. But I must insist that the General Assembly should take any risk there may be and open Coosaw River to other miners after March 1. I am equally emphatic in the belief that the rock in that river can pay \$2 royalty at this time.

And what other benefits may be reasonably expected—aye, are sure to follow—a just and equitable assessment of property and a reliable survey of the phosphate territory? The State's credit will be strengthened abroad and at home, and our bonds can be placed at a low rate of interest so that the debt which matures in 1893 can be paid promptly and easily, dollar for dollar. We know that the property of the State is worth at least double what it is now returned at. Suppose a capitalist is looking for bonds in which to invest. He finds South Carolina bonds cheap as compared with others bearing same interest, and he asks about the State, its wealth, government, etc., and is told its property is assessed at \$150,000,000. He shakes his head and buys some other securities. Let us suppose that the answer were made: "The property of the State is assessed at \$300,000,000, and besides, the State owns a phosphate deposit estimated at _____ tons, worth \$_____, from which she annually receives \$_____, more than the total interest on her debt," then let it be seen that the bonds contain a provision hypothecating this phosphate deposit as security for the bond itself, while the royalty is pledged for the interest, and it can readily be supposed that such bonds will command prices as high as any on the market, and be floated at as low rate of interest as any. We are in duty bound then to press the matter of securing a fair and honest assessment of prop-

erty, both to secure equality among our own citizens and for the sake of the State's credit. And we are equally bound to learn what is the extent and value of our phosphate territory so as to foster it, to guard it from injury by mismanagement, too much of which has already been had, and to derive every dollar of income it can be made to yield, to lessen the burden of the taxpayers, and lastly, as a sure means of placing the State's credit as high as the highest.

There is some further legislation which will tend to make our bonds command a more ready sale at home.

First. By requiring State Banks of Deposit to place with the State Treasurer, as security, State bonds to the amount of the average deposits of State funds with such banks.

Second. That every bank chartered by the State be required to invest a part of its capital stock, say 20 per cent., in State bonds.

Third. That all insurance companies doing business in South Carolina be required to deposit \$25,000 in South Carolina bonds, with the State Treasurer, as a guarantee of solvency and as a fund that can be attached if the company does not pay its losses promptly. The State is being flooded by these companies; some of them are utterly worthless. Such a requirement can work no harm to solvent companies, while it will protect our people against swindles.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives, I must apologize for the time I have consumed in discussing these important matters, and with a few remarks as to the relations which ought to exist between the Executive and the representatives of the people, I will close. During the recent campaign the lines were sharply drawn, and I was elected on a platform which, among other things, demands "rigid economy in public expenditures; the abolition of useless offices; reduction of salary and fees of all offices, State and County, to conform to the increased purchasing power of money and the decreased ability of the people to pay taxes; that public officers be paid in proportion to their labor and responsibility." An overwhelming majority of both your honorable bodies was elected on the single issue as to whether you endorsed this platform and its exponent. We are here to redeem these pledges, and it is yours to make the laws, and mine to execute. The responsibility is squarely on us, and we cannot shirk it. There are some minor matters to which I will direct your attention in special messages from time to time. The observations I have made, and the recommendations I have offered, are for your consideration. Your duty is not discharged unless you sift, amend, alter, and add to these suggestions anything which, in your judgment, will perfect them, and subserve the object which alone should actuate us all—the public welfare. I have given you

the best light I have, but I am not infallible, and have no pride of opinion. There is a fearful responsibility resting on me, by reason of the reliance upon my leadership. But you cannot avoid the responsibility resting on your own shoulders, and you will do wrong to cast a single vote against your judgment, no matter whence comes the recommendation. In the matter of appointments, I must rely almost wholly on your advice and suggestion, where the people have left us any choice. The most important appointive officer in each County is the Jury Commissioner. The pressure brought to bear on this officer by friends and attorneys of men indicted for murder, is very strong; and unless he is incorruptible, the jury gets "fixed," and justice is cheated. The office of Trial Justice is one of large power and importance, and no man who ever drinks to intoxication should hold it.

Only three weeks remain of the usual legislative session, which has been limited to Christmas by unwritten law. You have to deal with many matters of great importance, and whether you can perform these duties properly in so short a time, must depend on your diligence and an absolute refusal to waste time on silly, wildcat schemes and local and special legislation, which are the curses of our time. Pledging you my best efforts and hearty co-operation in your arduous labors, and invoking the guidance and blessing of the Father upon our labors in behalf of our beloved State and its people, I am now ready to call Heaven to witness and enter upon the duties of my office.